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"Democracy" and Dictatorship in Germany.

BY N. LENIN.

(January 5, 1919.)

The few issues of the Berlin "Red Flag" (the *Spartan-Liebkecht* organ) and the Vienna "Clarion," the organ of the Communist Party of German Austria, that have reached Moscow show that the betrayers of Socialism who during the war supported the governments of imperialistic brigands, all the Scheidemanns, Eberts, Austerlitzes and Renners, have been denounced by the true representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of Germany and Austria. We cordially greet these two organs of revolutionary Socialism, testifying to the vitality and the growth of the Third International.

Apparently the main issue of the revolution both in Germany and Austria is now this: a Constituent Assembly versus all power to the Soviets. The representatives of the bankrupt Second International, all of them beginning with the "majority Socialist" Scheidemann and ending with the "Independent Socialist" Karl Kautsky, are favoring the Constituent Assembly, calling for a defence of "democracy." I shall try, briefly, to state the substance of the controversy which has now become a practical issue for all advanced capitalist countries.

The Scheidemanns and Kautskys are speaking about "pure democracy," or "democracy" in the abstract, in order to deceive the masses and conceal from them the bourgeois character of modern democracy. Let the bourgeoisie continue to hold in its hands the whole apparatus of the state; let a handful of exploiters continue to control the existing bourgeois state machinery of what is called "democracy." The bourgeoisie, naturally, likes to describe the elections conducted under such conditions as "free," "equal," "democratic" and "popular." But these words serve to conceal the truth that the ownership of the means of production and the political power remain in the hands of the exploiters, and that genuine freedom and equality for the exploited, that is, for the overwhelming majority of the people, are therefore impossible. It pays the bourgeoisie to conceal from the people the bourgeois character of modern democracy, and it is forced to speak of democracy in the abstract, or "pure democracy." And the Scheidemanns and Kautskys, repeating their bourgeois arguments, actually renounce the proletarian standpoint and desert to the bourgeoisie.

When Marx and Engels signed the last preface to the *Communist Manifesto* (in 1872) they deemed it necessary to impress upon the workers particularly and emphatically that the proletariat cannot simply seize the existing (that is, bourgeois) state machinery and employ it for its own ends; that the proletariat must break this machinery. The renegade Kautsky has written a whole brochure on *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, but failed to mention this important Marxian truth, and fondly, and distortedly, distorted Marxism. The Scheidemanns, naturally, generously praised this brochure—praise which was well deserved, for one who deserts to the bourgeoisie ought to be praised by the agents of the bourgeoisie.

Now, when the workers and all the toilers are starving, when they are in rags, ruined and worn out not only by capitalist wage slavery but also by four years of the imperialistic war, while the capitalists and speculators continue to own the "property" they have plundered and the existing state apparatus—now, in particular, it is sheer mockery of the exploited to speak of democracy as an abstract idea, of equality, freedom and popular rule in general. It means a complete repudiation of the fundamental Marxian truth which taught the workers: you must utilise bourgeois democracy as a real step forward in history in comparison with feudalism, but do not for a single moment forget the bourgeois character of this "democracy," its historical basis and limitations; do not share the "superstitious faith" in the "state," do not forget that the state, not only in a monarchy but in the most democratic republic, is nothing else than a machine for the suppression of one class by another.

The bourgeoisie, forced to play the hypocrite, speaks of a democratic (bourgeois) republic as the "rule of the people," of an abstract or "pure" democracy, whereas this democratic republic is in reality the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the exploiters over the toiling masses. The Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Austerlitzes and Renners (and now, unfortunately, with the aid of Friedrich Adler) support these lies and hypocrisy. The Marxists, the Communists, on the contrary, expose this and tell the workers the plain truth, in reality a democratic republic, Constituent Assembly and popular

elections, etc., are nothing but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and there is but one road to the emancipation of labor from the tyranny of capital—to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat is capable of liberating humanity from the oppression of capital, from the lies and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy, which is a democracy for the rich. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat can establish a democracy for the poor and make the blessings of democracy actually accessible to the workers and poorer peasants; at present even in the most democratic bourgeois republics these

GREETINGS TO THE SOVIET REPUBLIC OF BAVARIA!

A proletarian dictatorship has been proclaimed in Bavaria, and a Soviet Republic organised with a Council of People's Commissaires. The Central Council of Bavaria sent the following telegram to all the Soviets:

The workers of Bavaria have overcome their party divisions and united in a mighty bloc against all domination and exploitation. They have taken over through the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Councils the entire public authority. The dictatorship of the proletariat is now a fact.

The Landtag has been dissolved and Peoples' Commissaires have been appointed. Workshops will be controlled by factory councils elected by the workers, which will control and direct affairs jointly with the managers. Everything belongs to the community. Independent socialisation, therefore, is out of the question. It is the duty of the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Councils everywhere to attend to the protection of the Soviet Republic and its peaceful development. They will take over local authority and control of the administration and are responsible to the working people.

As a protection for the Bavarian Council of the Republic against counter-revolutionary attacks from without and within a Red army will be created immediately and a revolutionary court will pursue ruthlessly every attempt upon the Council.

The Government of the Bavarian Soviet Republic follows the example of the Hungarian and Russian peoples. It will resume immediately a brotherly connection with these peoples, but it declines any connection with the contemptible Ebert-Scheidemann government, because that government is continuing, under the flag of a Socialist republic, the imperialistic, capitalist and military business of the disgraceful broken-down German empire. It calls upon all German workers to take the same view. It greets all proletarians wherever revolutionary Socialism is fighting—in Wurttemberg, in the Ruhr district, in the whole world.

Long live free Bavaria! Long live the Soviet Government! Long live the world revolution!

Blessings are practically inaccessible to the majority of the toilers.

Let us take, for example, the freedom of assembly and the freedom of the press. The Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Austerlitzes and Renners, assure the workers that the present elections to the Constituent Assembly of Germany and Austria are "democratic." This is a lie. For, in reality, the exploiters—the capitalists, landlords and speculators—control nine-tenths of the best buildings which are fit for meetings, and nine-tenths of the paper supply, printing shops, etc. The workers in the city and the farm laborers in the villages are in reality denied these democratic rights by means of the "sacred

right of private property," which is protected by the Kautskys and Renners, as well as by the bourgeois judges and police, etc. The present "freedom of assembly and press" in a "democratic" (bourgeois-democratic German republic) is a lie and a fraud. For, in reality, it means freedom for the rich to buy and to bribe the press, to corrupt the minds of the people with the lies of the bourgeois press. It means freedom for the rich to "own" manor-houses, the best buildings, etc. The dictatorship of the proletariat will take away from the capitalists, for the benefit of the toilers, the manor-houses, the best buildings, the printing shops and the stores of paper.

But—shout the Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Austerlitzes and Renners, as well as the Gomperses, Hendersons, Renaudels, Vanderveldes, etc.—this means that "popular," "pure" democracy will be replaced by the "dictatorship of one class."

Our reply is, it is not true. It means that what is actually a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (hypocritically veiled by the forms of a bourgeois democratic republic) will be replaced by a dictatorship of the proletariat. A democracy for the poor will replace a democracy for the rich. Freedom of assembly and the press for the minority, the exploiters, will be replaced by freedom of assembly and the press for the majority of the people, the toilers. This will mean a colossal extension of democracy, of universal historical significance, its transformation from a lie into the truth, the liberation of humanity from the fetters of capital, which distort and crush even the most "democratic" bourgeois republican democracy. It will mean that the bourgeois state will be replaced by a proletarian state, and this change is the only way to the gradual disappearance of the state.

But why is it not possible to achieve this end without the dictatorship of one class? Why can't we directly and immediately obtain "pure" democracy?—ask the hypocritical friends of the bourgeoisie or the naive petty bourgeois and philistines deceived by the bourgeoisie.

Our reply is: because in every capitalist society the decisive factor is either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat, while the small capitalists inevitably remain hesitating and impotent, foolish dreamers of "pure" non-class or super-class democracy. Because a society wherein one class oppresses another class cannot be abolished otherwise than by the dictatorship of the oppressed class. Because only the proletariat can conquer and overthrow the bourgeoisie, for the proletariat is the only class which is disciplined and united by Capitalism. Because only sentimental petty bourgeois and philistines can dream of overthrowing the power of the capitalists without prolonged and difficult suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, thus deluding themselves and the workers. In Germany and Austria this open resistance has not yet become manifest, since the expropriation of the expropriators has not yet begun. But there will be fierce and desperate resistance when this expropriation begins. Concealing this from themselves and the workers, the Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Austerlitzes and Renners, are betraying the proletariat. At the most critical stage they renounce the standpoint of the class struggle aiming at the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for the standpoint of co-operation of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie, of "social peace," of reconciliation between the exploiters and exploited.

Revolutions, said Marx, are the locomotives of history. Revolutions enlighten people in a short time. The city workers and farm laborers of Germany and Austria will quickly learn that the Scheidemanns, Kautskys, Austerlitzes and Renners have betrayed Socialism. The proletariat will push aside these "social" traitors, these Socialists in words and traitors to Socialism in deeds, just as the proletariat of Russia pushed aside the petty bourgeois and philistines, the Mensheviks and "Social-Revolutionists." The proletariat will learn—and the more complete the supremacy of these "leaders," the more quickly—that only by replacing the bourgeois state, though it be of the most democratic bourgeois republic, by a state of the type of the Paris Commune (about which so much was said by Marx, which is distorted and betrayed by the Scheidemanns and Kautskys), by a state of the type of the Soviets, can they open the road towards Socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat will deliver mankind from the yoke of Capitalism and from wars.

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The Case of Freeman.

The case of Paul Freeman, which has aroused so much public attention, is another instance of the cold blooded cruelty which is quite lawless under that tyrannical piece of legislation, known as the War Precautions Act.

When the history of Australia and its Labor Party is written, that vile and treacherous measure will strike as much horror to the readers as does the famous "Bloody Statute," or as it was called, the "Whip with Six Cords," passed in the reign of the first "Defender of the Faith," King Henry VIII.

And the latest KNOWN victim of the War Precautions Act, is Paul Freeman.

Personally, little seems to be known of him, and of the offence for which he is suffering, still less, and only for the fact that the American Government refused to allow him to land on its shores, thereby causing him to travel backwards and forwards three times, no doubt the public generally would have remained in blissful ignorance of his fate.

It must not be forgotten, that under the above mentioned law, no charge need be levelled against persons before their arrest. Men or women can be imprisoned or deported; merely a signed warrant is necessary, and their friends may never know what has become of them. The Lettres de Cachet of historical fame, which condemned people to the Bastille Prison in Paris for an indefinite period, were hardly more barbarous than this, although we are living in the 20th century, and in the most democratic country in the world. And many instances have happened, where people have disappeared and society as a whole has been none the wiser.

Freeman at last has turned desperate, and refused to take food, until a definite charge is made against him, and on Monday night, as a consequence of this, Dr. Arthur stated that in all probability, another 12 hours would see the end.

At this stage the Acting Minister for Defence, makes a statement:—

"The Government did not take action ordering the deportation of Paul Freeman without full consideration. The records show that Freeman stated he was born at Mount Vernon, U.S.A., of German parents, and that on October 27, 1916, he registered himself as an American alien under the War Precautions (Alien Registration) Regulations. Evidence was submitted to the Government with corroboration that on one occasion

Slams and Jabs.

By JAYBES.

Monash and His Military Machine.

Over choice wines and before a parasitic audience at a luncheon given by the Overseas Club (London), Lieut-General Johnnie Monash, in company with other armour-plate patriots, pointed out that we (meaning the British capitalist class and their flunkies) must go on making preparation for war. The great MORAL gain accruing to Australia was strongly emphasised by this gaily bedecked and gaudily feathered military chief. John makes his living—and a pretty decent living at that—through his connection with the military machine, and a job like that is worth sticking to. If this in-

Freeman had said that a man who went to the war or joined the army was lower than a dog. He was also reported as a disloyal and dangerous man and as an organiser for the I.W.W., and he gave a number of addresses on his principles. Freeman stated that he had the proofs that he was an American, but he refused to produce the same.

The Case for Freeman.

These allegations, Freeman denies, and his account of himself is as follows:—

Among those who saw Freeman was Mr. Brookfield, M.L.A., who had known him at Broken Hill. He found him very exhausted, and only able to speak with difficulty. The doctor said his temperature was down to 94, and his pulse was 50 and very feeble. Speaking to Mr. Brookfield, Freeman said he only demanded to be faced with his accusers and given a fair trial. He was working alone on the mine he had discovered, 80 miles out of Cloncurry—where he was making a clear £3 a day—when he was arrested, but was not told either there or at any time afterwards what there was against him. Neither was he given time to dispose of his mine. After his arrest he was bundled into a train, and taken first to Townsville, and then to Brisbane. From Brisbane he was brought to Sydney, and after one night in Darlinghurst Gaol, was dumped on board the Sonoma. After three days at sea the Sonoma had an accident to her propellers, and was compelled to return to Sydney. He was then taken from the ship, and again placed in Darlinghurst Gaol. While he was there influenza broke out, and no one was allowed to enter or leave the prison; but, none the less, when the Sonoma was ready to sail he was again taken on board. On the return to Sydney from the first trip to America he sent two letters to Mr. Brookfield, neither of which Mr. Brookfield received, though it is not clear whether they went astray in the post, or were intercepted by the censor.

Those who have known him, bear out these statements, and no evidence shows that he was a member of an illegal organisation, or had taken any part in agitation of any kind.

As a consequence of this victimisation, public feeling has run high, and after deputations, protest meetings, and finally wild, riotous scenes on the wharf and in the streets, Freeman has been removed from the Sonoma pending inquiries.

This last fact is significant. Is it possible that the Government actually allowed a man to be detained on board a vessel during three trips, and to starve himself to the brink of death, KNOWING SO LITTLE OF HIS CASE THAT AT THIS LATE HOUR THEY INTEND TO MAKE INQUIRIES?

If Freeman is brought to trial openly, we may hear some interesting facts.

Either we shall know his offence, and the proofs of same, or we shall be enlightened as to the workings of "our" Democratic (?) Government.

It is well to realise also, the hypocritical cant about BRITISH JUSTICE, as though it was superior to all other.

This happening is simply another proof that while the system exists all justice (?) is alike, i.e., on the side of the capitalist class; also that the party which wants to persuade us that it stands in the interest of LABOR and Democracy, is the one which made it possible for this latest crime against Freedom and Liberty.

It is well that the workers have gained a partial victory, and it is far better to see that they are realising their strength; and if they continue to do this, and above all, gain intelligence to back it up, the future for the workers of Australia looks bright indeed.

same war-breeding system lasts, there will be more wars that will breed braggarts and Monash's by the score, but we are of the opinion that Monash is counting his chickens before they are hatched. There is one might force, which is daily becoming more mighty, that all the military preparation of capitalism CANNOT overcome, that is the united force of the Revolutionary working class. The capitalist system breeds this force that is destined to destroy it. If the capitalist class persists in erecting a military machine to defend its class interests, then the inevitable political victory of the revolutionary working class may use it for a purpose quite different from that for which it came into being. Remember Russia! "Lay on McDuff, and damned be he who first cries 'Hold! Enough!'"

Harry Lauder Assists the British Tax-payers and is Rewarded.

Harry Lauder, the Scotch comic, who was recently created a knight of the White Elephant, deserved the title he worked so hard to get. During the war he stooped to "bumming" "dough" for the Red Cross, then by saying the "tax-payers" owners of the British Isles over half a million in gold cash. Harry is now in Australia attempting to pull off the same stunt, and should he meet with the same measure of success he may be created a baronet. Harry was once a miner, and the writer remembers when he used to sing at concerts for 20 a night, not that we judge him his success as a comedian, but only that we despise the cawling and spineless road men have to travel in order to be rapped on the head with a top sword.

Hawker and the Cables.

Harry Hawker, the Australian aviator, has been drowned, saved and drowned again all within a week. It was first reported that he was sighted 400 miles off the Irish coast, the next report had him 100 miles from his base, later someone, who had received a wireless saying "the Hawker is coming to the petrol pump," and finally, he was the cable that Hawker had been picked up by the good ship "Mary", and is being conveyed by a British destroyer to a northern point in Scotland. We just draw attention to the various contradictions, and we also point out that all the modern equipment in the service of the British Admiralty was available for the speedy transit of message relating to Hawker's welfare.

We then ask how it is possible to believe the lying cables relating to happenings in the remotest portions of Russia where wireless is not in operation? Think it over and then—THINK.

The Universal Liars.

The "Rand Daily Mail," a paper of the ruling class printed in Johannesburg, publishes the following cable from Sydney:—

"A message from Sydney says that the influenza is paralysing business throughout the Commonwealth. Fifty thousand people have been taken out of work. The streets of Melbourne city are deserted."

Now the readers of this African paper will of its naturally be thinking that we here in Australia are dropping down in the streets just as they have been doing for the past two years in Petrograd (?) "Influence leads enlightenment to the eye," and the people of Petrograd and Moscow would "snicker" should they happen to see the cables our editors manufacture in Collins street. They are all tarred with the one stick and lying is their stock in trade.

How the Y.M.C.A. Proposes to Stop the Friendly Acts of the Germans.

The war is over. The armies of occupation on the other side of the Rhine are quartered in the homes of the German people. They are beginning to talk with one another on the whys and wherefores of war, and they are coming to the conclusion that both British and German workers have been damphoods. This sort of intimacy is much deplored by the British capitalist class. A few days ago Sir Arthur Yapp yapped a few pregnant yapps about this very thing. He refers to this friendly spirit as "a serious danger." He complains that the German people are too generous to our troops, and that his organisation, the Y.M.C.A., could remedy this by providing plenty of occupation and amusement for the soldiers. It's the old slogan of capitalism: "Give them a circus." They think that by providing amusement they can stop the Tommy was thinking about the insanity of the system that causes war. We can clearly see how this Christian Association of Young Men is eulogised by the nobles who rule us, it is a semi-political organisation who, preying upon the supersti-

tions of the common herd, are skillfully doing the slimy work of their masters. Time has passed when the "great unwashed" can be fooled by religious phantoms, the average worker is beginning to think and the harder he thinks the quicker he will get rid of capitalist parasitism and the pseudo religious crobes that flutter around it.

Russia, Japan and the Allies—Where Do They Stand?

It is well known that the British, French, Servian, Greek, Americans, Portuguese and Chinese are jointly operating against the Bolsheviks. Be it understood that they are all doing it for the sake of the "poor Russian people"? A few weeks ago it was pointed out in the columns that Semenov the Cossack, had been sacked, owing to the fact that he was turning the plunder into his own pockets, and Koltchak had got the job laid after the Allied interests in Siberia. This being accomplished the Allies shook hands again and sang "say us all," and with renewed vigour sprang on the workers of the Soviet Republic. It appears now that Koltchak has entered into a private agreement with Japan whereby Japan, for its promised military assistance, is to receive concessions and points of vantage in Russia, Manchuria by and through which she can more successfully exploit eastern Siberia. An early rupture in the ranks of the actionaries now operating in Russia, is expected, while all of them are attempting to defend their material interests, and while it would be to the detriment of all the robbers to smash the workers' republic, their interests are identified, for each and all of them, want to see the other fellow have his eye. The scorch is coming, the quicker the better.

Churchill Gets a Stormy Reception From His Own Constituents.

At a speaking in Dundee (Scotland), Winston Churchill, Secretary of State, was attempted to justify his existing speaking platitudes and referring to the bravery of the Scotch. The workers would have none of that tripe, and he was assailed from all quarters for his attitude of the British Government towards their Russian policy. They demanded the immediate withdrawal of all troops that were drafted there against them will by military coercion.

It is quite true that resolutions of protest can assist in creating a healthy sentiment, but something more than that is required. The working class must organise AS A CLASS into a political party that aims for the capture of political power in order to overthrow the political state and establish on its ashes Labor Industrial Republic. It is only the revolutionary political party of labor that can do this. With the political victory there must be force to back it up, the FORCE can only come from the organized workers on the industrial field; the knowledge of this fact that places the Australian Socialist Party at the head of the list in the Revolutionary movement in Australia. If you agree with the principles and policy of the A.S.P. your place is clearly inside.

Society "Ladies" of Melbourne are out to Alter the Home Life of the Workers.

The Melbourne society ladies are beginning to interest themselves on the real home conditions of the workers from the intense desire (1) to "better those sad conditions" one must come to the conclusion that all their pet poodle dogs have died of the flu, and not having anything of a more serious nature on their feather brains they are turning their attention to "slumming." They go on to point out that the landlords (their husbands being amongst them) cannot be expected to repair the houses they own while the "unjust system of taxation existed." Perhaps those frilled women of the idle rich can hear strange rumblings, maybe they think they may be asked to take a taste of the life the workers have endured. There is only ONE solution to the housing problem and that is SOCIALISM. Instead of Socialism "breaking up the homes" it will break up those shanties and bug-ridden kipsies the masters are pleased to call homes just so long as they are not compelled to live in them. "Home" under Socialism will be a place of abode with all the comforts science affords; a "home" to-day is just a place owned by somebody else where you crawl into to keep out of the wet.

Karl Marx Says.

"A form of society never breaks down until all the productive forces are developed for which it affords room. New and higher relations are never established, until the material conditions of life to support them have been prepared in the lap

The Evolution of Society.

By EDOUARD FORTIN.

Translated from the French and printed in the "Socialist Standard" of September, 1905.

One single fact dominates the whole history of civilisation. The different stages of this history (slavery, serfdom, wage system) are marked by a division of mankind into distinct classes; masters and slaves in antiquity; lords and serfs in the middle ages; capitalists and wage-workers in our present epoch. The forms, aspects and degrees of this division change from country to country and from generation to generation, but at bottom the same fundamental fact remains—the exploitation of human labor.

The Primordial and Permanent Necessity. A primordial and permanent necessity, upon mankind, and dominates all manifestations of their existence: the necessity of labor, the necessity of production.

As long as the process of labor (plowing, cultivation, handicrafts, etc.) is such a low state of development as to require the production of that which is absolutely necessary to the existence of each individual worker, there can be no question of the exploitation of the laborer by others. The men go frequently into battle; but no one cares for the vanquished; they are killed on the spot. Their flesh furnishes a banquet for the vultures. Capitalism reigns without care or type-erasing.

But the productive forces are ever moving, and this growth forms the principal dynamic of history. As soon as man becomes able to produce a surplus beyond his absolute necessities, this surplus is taken by other men. The vanquished ceases to be the direct prey of the victor. He becomes instead his slave.

At this moment one class begins to work for another class as a horse is trained to go under the bridle and spur of the rider.

At this moment the great battle began between exploiters and exploited. It is not our purpose to tell the long story of this battle nor to picture its dramatic scenes. We are not here concerned with the heroic deeds, eloquent words, stirring attitudes, or rallying cries of the principal religious, political and judicial heroes.

Let us remember, however, that as long as possible the struggle was carried on outside the domain of actuality, outside the field of labor, in order to us long as possible keep within the "ideal" world of religion and politics, the realm of idealism.

The Philosophies of Antiquity. By this ultra-economic transposition, the fact of the crime (fait du crime) did not change, but it remained concealed. The philosophies of antiquity sanctified slavery. The Bible deified surplus labor when it declared: "In the sweat of his brow shall man eat bread." Religion legitimized terrestrial suffering by the illusory promise of celestial joys. Only yesterday Guizot has dared to say: "Labor is a bridge"; to-day Tolstoy intones with the *voix* of Boudareff: "In the sweat of the brow thou knead bread." If all this be true, to what purpose was the invention of mechanical mixers?

If mankind takes all these detours, and strays into all these vague and illusory roads, if it will arrive but slowly or not at all at the actual problem, it is because the material conditions of the solution (the immense increase of productive forces and powerful concentration of all the means of communication) are realized, but very slowly with the progress of history.

But the solution grows nearer, economic facts develop prodigiously and the view of the contradictions born of the capitalist regime grows clearer every day. The exploitation concealed under the veil of wages becomes every day more

of the old society itself. Therefore mankind always sets for itself only such tasks as it is able to perform; for upon close examination it will always be found that the task only arises where the material conditions for its solution are already at hand or at least in process of growth!

evident to an increasing number of workers. The material basis of the revolution of the workers is now in advance of the individual ideas, and it is utopian to seek to delay the hour of deliverance. This hour will sound whenever the proletariat demands it.

When one considers all the things consumed, utilized or put in reserve each year by the totality of any country, when these are reduced to their constituent elements, they will be found to consist only of matter and energy supplied by nature, and labor-power supplied by man, and nothing more. No one can lay any parti-

Matter and Energy. Matter is the work of nature. It is human labor alone that gives social value to things. These things ought then to return exclusively to the world of the workers. But the most ignorant knows that the fruits of labor are not thus divided. The blindest can see that the most savory of these fruits are consumed by an idle and privileged class. In modern society, as in the society of antiquity, and in the society of feudalism, the pain and toil of one class afford freedom and pleasure to another.

Labor manifests itself by the expenditure of energy, of muscles, and nerves. To consume the labor of a human being is to consume his energy, these muscles, these nerves. It is to eat his flesh and drink his blood. It is the perpetration in a new form, a disguised and disguised form—of the crime of cannibalism.

The two goals, the *El Dorado* and the *Rock*. The *El Dorado* is the "Socialist" and the *Rock* is the "Bolshevik." Both are exactly and without metaphor, but living, vanishing. Their position, principles and voluptuousness are written on the deep sorrows and afflictions of the oppressed class.

Under a regime of exploitation there are only three possible positions: either one receives more, less or just as much as his labor creates. The excess of production, due to social cooperation, which properly belongs to no individual but should return equally to all, in no way alters this fact. There are three distinct classes, the great capitalist, the small capitalist, and the wage worker. The first and last are alone named. Any midway position is virtually theatrical; its equilibrium is as unstable as that of a blind man crossing the Niagara gorge, for one expert who passes, a multitude of inferior balancers fall into the depths of the boiling river.

The Doom of the Middle Class. Every one knows that the middle class, the middle class, the little manufacturers, property owners, merchants, etc., which once constituted a buffer between these two extremes, is today buffeted to and fro until it is being pulverized by the competition of the great capitalist. The small capitalists are constantly being scattered to the four winds, of beaten by failures and bankruptcies, no sooner do they rise in fortune than they fall again and roll helplessly into the proletarian host of the damned, soon there will remain but two classes: capitalists and workers.

To each economic class there is a corresponding political party.

On top is the conservative government party, with all its factions gathered in one capitalist mass. At the bottom is the revolutionizing Socialist Party. Between these there are the wavering, disappearing party of the small capitalist, a party whose economic basis is continually crumbling away, and which in spite of the names it calls itself, is incapable of playing any radical role.

Only Two Real Parties. There remains, taking all in all, only two real parties: the party of exploitation and the party of the emancipation.

Our existence gravitates around labor as the earth gravitates around the sun. No sun, no planetary life. No labor, no human life. No equal labor for all healthy men; no justice, no solidarity, no happiness.

The capitalist world and its partisans

A Bishop and Bolshevism.

BY J. B. SCOTT.

Bishop Green is one of the dog-collared brigade, a slickly dressed and sumptuously fed gent, who live without doing any useful work. Knowing which side his bread is buttered on the Bishop takes to moralising on Bolshevism from Luke 11th chap., 26th verse. I don't know whether Luke knew any more about Bolshevism than the Bishop. I haven't the time to look it up, anyhow, Luke is dead and can't make any serious objections to his sayings or the sayings "according" to him, being misconstrued. This black-robed flunkey of Capitalism, under the guise of religion, and without any investigation on his part, denounces the Bolsheviks as "anarchists who drew to themselves everything turbulent, grasping, lustful, and licentious." In further expatiating he says: "It would be a difficult task to name any of the Ten Commandments whose violation Bolshevism did not encourage—Covetousness, theft, murder, rape, defiance of God, the very temper of anti-Christ."

"Come here, Bishop, and sit down. We'll talk this over, you and I. You're a Christian, ain't ye, Bishop?"

"Why, yes, of course I am."

"You believe in telling the truth, don't you?"

"Bless your soul, yes."

"You wouldn't tell a deliberate lie even if your job depended upon it, Bishop, would you?"

"Well now, that is, of course, certainly not! How dare you, Sir, suggest such a thing?"

"I didn't want to hurt your tender feelings, Bishop, I was only asking were you ever in Russia, Bishop?"

"No."

"Then where did you get your information about the Bolsheviks, Bishop?"

"From our daily press, of course."

"If you read in the 'Age,' Bishop, that Christ was a Scotchman and was nailed on a cross in Hong Kong by the Red Indians, would you believe it?"

"What nonsense! Certainly not, I know different."

"But how do you know, Bishop?"

"I have made a deep research, and study into the matter."

"Have you ever made any 'deep research and study' into Bolshevism, Bishop?"

"Well, I must confess I have not."

"Why, Bishop?"

"Well, now, I never thought it necessary, I go by the press reports, I'll have to be going now, I am due at St. Paul's at 6.30."

"Bide a wee, Bishop, there's no hurry. Do you believe in the 5th Commandment?"

"What impertinence, Sir, I preach it from my pulpit."

"I know that, Bishop, you preach it all right, but where were you during the war?"

would perpetuate, universalise, increase the exploitation of human labor.

The Socialist world, and its partisans would abolish the whole system of exploitation of human labor.

The first considers labor a punishment, a muzzle, a disgrace. They do not wish to be punished, muzzled, or disgraced. Their glory, their freedom, their honor, rests upon the labor of others.

The second considers as a normal manifestation of life, as the indispensable condition of human existence, as the "medium of the material circulation between nature and man" (Marx) as the foundation for a harmonious development of body and mind, as a spice to enjoyment. They desire this work in an equal amount for all, and continuously diminishing in accordance with the progress of technology and its practical application.

There is no possible conciliation between these two worlds and the parties they represent. Choose between them!

The battle will never cease until there is no more exploitation of labor.

There will be no more classes or class antagonisms. "The government of men will give place to the administration of things." In freeing itself the proletariat will have freed the whole of society.

"That was different. It was a war for democracy and justice."

"You were on the side of the oppressors here in Australia during the conscription campaign, were you not, Bishop?"

"I believe every man should have gone to the war."

"How can you stand there with that brazen face of yours, Bishop, and tell me that you believe in the 5th Commandment; don't you think you are a very material cuss?"

"Do you know what the 1st Commandment says, Bishop, about having strange gods?"

"Dear, dear! What a stupid question to ask a Bishop. Of course I do."

"Then why do you bow the knee to Mammon and Mars and desert the Carpenter?"

"Sir! How dare you?"

"The 8th Commandment, too, bears on your case, Bishop, where it speaks about bearing false witness against thy neighbor; you know well enough that you are lying like hell when you accuse the Bolsheviks of Russia, a people you admit having no knowledge of, or committing the crimes and brutalities, such as your speech would indicate. You know well enough, too, Bishop Green, that you are in league with the ruling class, of this country, and that you deliberately stand in your pulpit Sunday after Sunday and under the cloak of religion you slander the working class movement of any country because 'material wretch' that you are; you know that with the workers growing intellect you will no longer be permitted to prey upon society with the social parasite whose cause you espouse. You are a brazen hypocrite, Bishop Green. You do NOT preach religion, you are a politician in disguise, and a traitor to the Man of Nazareth."

Begone, false prophet! Back to your vulgar class, back to the living, web of carions. We of the working class will keep you in mind and in the day when things are evenly balanced, when revolution has triumphed over capitalist brutality, when man is at last economically free YOU will be placed, where you belong, amongst the traitors to humanity's cause. **The Social Revolution is Close at Hand.**

England is on the verge of a social precipice. Those outside the Socialist movement do not appear to fully comprehend the nearness to revolution, the present state of social ferment will inevitably bring us.

Men are pursuing the even tenor of their ways; some see nothing unusual in Britain's industrial strife some are still pessimistic and can see no finality. They are unable to interpret the history they themselves are making. Let us look at Great Britain today, and the hopes of revolution there. Three of the largest industries in the country (the mainstay of the nation) are getting ready for the greatest industrial conflict the world has ever known. Labor, farmers, political shysters, capitalist henchmen, and "friends of labor" are coming together in an attempt to prorogue the inevitable.

The situation is dangerous. FOR CAPITALISM. The "Daily Mail" commenting on this woefully states, that: "The leaders have lost control," therein lies the secret of their worry. The men of British industry are organising from the bottom up, the "leaders" who WERE are now mere rubber stamps. The workers who WERE NOT are now intelligently enough organised to lead themselves.

An election will be forced in the very near future. This Government will cave in and the Labor (?) Party will gain the ascendancy. Their attempted reforms will bring about their own destruction; then the issue will stand out clear, and bright, **REVOLUTION OR REFORM—WHICH!** The Political Mensheviks of Britain, including a majority of the Labor Party politicians, will be arrayed on the one side and the Revolutionary Socialist on the other.

NO, brother! Not a hundred years from now; perhaps in the next few months, for in the days of revolutionary precipitation a day is a year, and a year is a century. Prepare now—**RIGHT NOW!** Read the principles and policy of the A.S.P. If you agree with them you are a revolutionist, and we need your help NOW.

The Anarchists.

Many may think it is a waste of time and space pricking the wind-bags of anarchy. But unfortunately many of the younger members of Socialist organisations are inclined to accept high sounding phrases as the acme of revolutionary socialism. They are too young or mentally ignorant to understand such phrases as mere jangling words without any meaning, claptrap that signifies nothing except letting off steam by egoistical individuals who crawl into the Socialist movement with the object of wrecking the organisation.

These Anarchists with their twaddle of "absolute liberty" for the individual have no conception of the historic development of human society. Their ideas are grotesque without that material basis necessary to give solidity to their theories, fantastic theories that ignore the material forces against which humanity has had to struggle in its upward march from savagery, theories light as air, to be discarded at the will of the individual whose view of society and all that it means is: "Nothing for me goes beyond myself." (Estimé), or, with Tailade: "What matters the death of vague human beings if thereby the individual affirms himself?"

Our anarchists are at one with the bourgeoisie. Their individualistic ideas are on a par with the ruling phase of capitalist society. "Every one for himself and the devil take the hindmost." This phrase has its counterpart in Kropotkin's cry in the name of the individual who seeks to shake off the trammels of society so that he may at last do freely what he wants to.

Whilst the avowed anarchist has always been and is a menace to revolutionary Socialism, those individuals within the movement who prize most of revolutionary action, who declare themselves to be the only exponents of true Socialism, are anarchists of an even more objectionable type than those who proclaim themselves as such. With a loud pretence of knowledge of the economic structure of society they in the long run become traitors to the Socialist movement, returning to their capitalist vomit. "No compromise" is a mere phrase to this type, for after accusing all and sundry of compromising, they finish up by going over bag and baggage to the capitalist class. Being merely superficial skimmers they are led into the trap of compromise with the capitalist class. As leaders of craft unions they are led into all sorts of ameliorating schemes of betterment for the workers. As petty bourgeois they become the nominees of the employing class to represent capitalistic interests on joint boards formed to square the circle of so-called mutual interests.

These wreckers have been dangerous in the past and are especially dangerous to the younger members of the movement to-day, because these juniors accept loud words for deeds, agree at fine revolutionary phrases, which, when analysed, have no value to the Socialist movement. The Anarchists having no constructive policy, will play no useful part in the construction of the co-operative commonwealth. Their ideas are destructive, and to that extent are a menace to the Socialist objective.

J. M. G.
The International.

SOUTH COAST FIXTURES FOR JUNE

- 7th.—Corrimal. Speaker, W. J. Thomas.
- 8th.—Thirroul. Speaker, W. J. Thomas.
- 14th.—Balgownie. Speakers, A. S. Reardon and O. Jorgenson.
- 15th.—Scarborough. Speakers, A. S. Reardon and O. Jorgenson.
- 21st.—Corrimal. Speaker, Chas. Jackson.
- 22nd.—Thirroul. Speaker, Chas. Jackson.
- 28th.—Wollongong. Speaker, L. Leece.
- 29th.—Coledale. Speaker, L. Leece.

ECONOMIC CLASSES ARE CONDUCTED FORTNIGHTLY by each of the South Coast Branches. Dates are:—**CORRIMAL**, 7th and 21st at 8 p.m. **THIRROUL**, 8th and 22nd at 11 a.m., Sunday morning in Bircho's Hall. **SCARBOROUGH**, 15th and 29th at 11 a.m. Sunday morning.

A hearty invitation is extended to all local workers whether members of the Party or not. The Classes are free of charge.

Baritz's "Charges" and Abuse.

Comrades of the A.S.P.—The Central Executive have taken it upon themselves to hand over a whole page of the Party's press to a person who has proved himself to be a pastmaster at vulgar abuse and low-down blackguardism.

What the Central Executive are pleased to hypocritically term "Sunlight and fresh air," is nothing else but lying and dirty insinuations. Seeing that the alleged crime was committed in the "One Big Union Herald," the official organ of the W.I.U., might we ask what business is it of the Central Executive of the A.S.P. to take up a matter that properly belongs to the W.I.U.? If the C.E. is so eager looking for faults in order to assist a proven liar and a would-be disrupter of the Party might we suggest that they give just a glance at their own pet selves and explain why they are financing a non-member, an opponent of the Party's Principles and Policy (which the Executive are pledged to uphold), to attack and abuse members and undo our work in favor of industrial unity to pave the way for the political unity of the workers?

They might explain further why they are denying the Melbourne Branch access to the Party's press on behalf of unity, and yet at the same time handing over a whole page to a member for the purpose of serious abuse and disruption?

Are branches and members going to acquiesce in to such a shameful betrayal of the Party's principles and the Party's interests?

Now to the "Charge."

What have we done? We have simply taken an article by Thomas Brady, published in the "Radical Review" of July, 1918, and another by W. Paul, a strong supporter of the W.I.U. of Great Britain and altered them to suit Australian conditions, and the particular form of organisation those conditions demand.

In other words, we did it on behalf of principles, and the movement we considered most likely to realise those principles. We did what the W.I.U. of America propose doing as one of our own publications. They have actually carried a motion in favor of adopting "Revolutionary Industrial Unionism" to American conditions. For doing what we did, M. Baritz accuses us of entering into a "conspiracy to fleece and steal the work of others." And although our American comrades have not asked for the permission of Australia, we have no intention of levelling a similar "charge" on the contrary we hold that as the W.I.U. is an International Organisation, it requires no justification for any use made of matter written by supporters of our position. And we feel certain that Thos. Brady and Wm. Paul hold similar opinion.

Only a vulgar and abusive person of the character of M. Baritz could see "dishonesty," "depravity," "degeneracy," "insanity," "criminality," "fraud," "prostitution," in our action. This, of course, by no means exhausts Baritz's list of polite and high sounding negatives as to what we are. To be fair, we must also mention that we are "mental monstrosities," "literary jackals," "thieves," "hars," etc., etc.

But Baritz, is it the custom of thieves to mention the names of the persons from whom they filched or stole the goods from? And insofar that we have mentioned the names, does it not alone prove that you really are a slanderer, and a shameful liar.

Ah! but we did not use quotation marks! But, Baritz, in spite of the lovely adjectives you described us by, we could not be so dishonest as to use quotation marks, when you yourself assert that we have taken complete paragraphs and twisted them in a shameful and deliberate manner but which, we contend, we have simply altered to suit Australian conditions, for effective propaganda on behalf of principles.

But Baritz says that we did not give the source of our information, meaning the particular journal or book. Quite true, Baritz, for the very same reason that we could not honestly use quotation marks. And it was this difficulty that compelled us to place the names of Wm. Paul and T. Brady in front of our own, as it was practically a joint production, even though the former are not in Australia.

But, according to Baritz, this paragon of truthfulness and proletarian honesty (poor honesty, poor truthfulness, when you must indeed need such a person to champion your cause), we placed the names as we did because we desired to make out that we were of the same class as Wm. Paul and T. Brady. No, M. Baritz! Unlike you, we are not given to boasting and blowing our own trumpets, as the members of the Melbourne W.I.U. and the A.S.P. can testify. But when you shamefully slander us in such a dishonest way, we are naturally compelled to defend ourselves and prove that we are not the dishonest persons you desire to make out. We do no mind fair criticism as to the way we wrote the article, but when we are charged with dishonest motives, we are surely entitled to speak a little of ourselves; in other words use some of the "sunlight and fresh air."

We ask Baritz, the Central Executive, the

WET WEATHER.

ON WET SUNDAYS WHEN IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO HOLD A MEETING ON THE DOMAIN, AN AFTERNOON MEETING WILL BE HELD IN THE A.S.P. HALL, 369 PITT ST., COMMENCING AT 2.45.

members of the Party, is it the custom of dishonest persons, thieves and mental prostitutes to devote years of their time and energy in a name, but on behalf of principles without the thought of a penny in return (except abuse from Baritz) and even dipping well into our pockets to subsidise the amounts we could ill afford?

Such being your contemptible "charge," we could hardly put the worth of notice had we not been so much insulted and contemned by the Central Executive.

Years for the best interests of the working class.

(Sgd.) J. A. DAWSON.
W. M. HARRIS.

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KURRI KURRI COMRADES ATTENTION!

The General Secretary, Com. A. S. Reardon, will speak in Kurri-Kurri on Sunday, June 29th, at the invitation of the Kurri-Kurri Workers' Educational Club. The subject is not yet finalised, but will probably be "The Woman and the Social Revolution."

PRESS FUND.

A. Seaboyer 1/-; K. Leslie 10/-; G. Gerard 2/-. Donations to the above fund are still urgently needed.

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